Dwarka Dass Memorial Publications No. 1.

GREATER INDIA

Sain Dass Foundation Lectures, 1940.

BY

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FOREWORD.

It is a great pleasure to me—no, it is a great privilege—to write a Foreword to the booklet that is being now issued by the College. The booklet comprises the first series of Lectures associated with the name of Lala Sain Das, ex-Principal of the College. What Lala Sain Das has been and is to me in my private life is not a matter for expression in words. I may, however, refer to the fifteen years that I spent with him as a colleague on the staff of the College. As a Professor, and later as Principal as well, Lala Sain Das was the ideal of his students. The hold he had on the minds of the students was at once the envy and the despair of his colleagues. Since he retired from the College in 1931, the main intellectual interest of Lala Sain Das has been the study and appreciation of the culture of Ancient India. It is a happy coincidence that the theme of the first series of the Foundation Lectures is one so dear to his heart.

The College was very lucky in securing the co-operation of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Vice Chancellor of the University of Dacca. Dr. Mazumdar is an eminent scholar, and is acknowledged to be a great authority on Greater India.

The intrinsic merit of the theme is very great and Dr. Mazumdar's handling of it was masterly. I have no doubt that the Lectures, in their printed form, will be read with great pleasure and profit, and will stimulate intelligent interest in the further study of the subject. For the students of Indian History, they will provide a fare very palatable and nutritious.

MUSSOORIE
July 7, 1941.

DIWAN CHAND.

CONTENTS.

LECTURE I.

GREATER INDIA.

The subject of my discourse "Greater India" is an expression of recent origin. It was practically unknown, at least seldom used, as embodying a definite historical conception, a quarter of a century ago. But slowly the idea is gaining ground that a study of Indian history and civilization would be incomplete unless we take into consideration the very distinguished part that the Indians played in moulding the history and civilization of vast regions in the continent of Asia which lie beyond the Himalayas and the sea. Indeed we are now painfully conscious of the great injustice done to Indian civilization by the early writers who attributed to it a character of isolation and detachment. I still recollect to have read in my school days in the Matriculation text-book of history that shut up by mountains and seas India developed a unique civilization, neither influencing nor being influenced by its neighbours. Not long ago an esteemed friend of mine, with high academic distinctions, expressed the view that the chief glory of India lies in the fact that unlike Muhammadan and Christian civilizations, it has never troubled itself with the domains of others, but ever rested content with its own, and he quoted the verse of the *Gita* "*svadharma nidhanam s'reyaḥ paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ*" as embodying the spirit of Indian civilization.

How little such views really represent the true character of Indian civilization have been amply

demonstrated by the stern and undeniable facts of history. It has now been satisfactorily established, on the basis of evidence which has passed even the ordeal of European scepticism, that far from occupying an isolated position apart from the rest, India played almost the same part in the east as Greece and Rome had done in the west. This subject is too vast to be adequately dealt with in a single lecture but I shall adduce a few facts in support of what might appear to many to be a novel and startling proposition.

We shall begin with India's relations with the western countries. It is unnecessary to refer at length to the well-known mass of evidence, both Indian and foreign, which proves that from times immemorial regular trade was carried on between India and western Asia and Egypt. Such commercial relationship inevitably leads to a cultural contact, but fortunately we have more positive evidence in this direction. The monumental discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjodaro leave no doubt about a cultural intercourse between India and the western countries more than four thousand years ago. Reference may also be made to the well-known Boghaz-Koi inscriptions which mention the names of several well-known Vedic deities. The exact bearing of these inscriptions upon the nature of relationship between India and the western world is still a matter of dispute, but it may be asserted with some degree of confidence that they indicate an exchange of ideas and assimilation of culture between India and western Asia about 1400 B.C.

Some scholars have traced a contact between

India and the western empires of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, but it must be admitted that the evidence is indirect and not unoften of doubtful character. With the Persian empire which succeeded them, we stand on a firmer ground. In addition to a brisk trade both by land and sea, there was undoubtedly an intimate cultural contact between India on the one hand and the vast regions comprised within Persia on the other. It is of great interest to note in this connection that part of the Punjab was conquered by the Persian Emperor and that Indian soldiers fought for Persia on the battle-fields of Greece along with other Asiatic races. When Alexander the Great overthrew this Persian empire and extended the border of the Greek empire up to the Punjab, the east and the west became more intimately acquainted with each other than ever before. The reciprocal cultural influence between India and Greece is a matter of common knowledge though the extent and nature of it still form subjects of discussion.

With the Greek sovereigns of Asia and Africa who inherited the vast dominions of Alexander, Indian kings were on terms of closest intimacy. The Greek ambassadors from Syria and Egypt resided at the Court of Pataliputra while the religious missions of Asoka visited western Asia, Egypt and eastern Europe. The influence of this intercourse is perceptible in the development of art and literature in India and religion and literature in western countries. That Christianity owed something to the Indian thought is no longer doubted, though opinions naturally vary as to the extent of the Indian influence. The fact however remains that Buddhism was spread in western Asia before the Christian era. This not

only follows from Asoka's inscriptions but also from the statement of Alberuni "that in former times Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic." We have, however, evidence that Brahmanic faith was also spread in those countries. We learn from the Syrian writer Zenob that two Indian chiefs, rebelling unsuccessfully against their king led westwards with their clan and found shelter with Valarsaces the first Arsacid monarch of Armenia (149-127 B.C.). Valarsaces gave them the canton of Taron (upper Euphrates, west of lake Van) and there they founded a town and set up replicas of the idols they had worshipped in India. Fifteen years later the Indian chiefs were killed by the king of Armenia. Their sons however continued to hold the canton of Taron, and they erected two temples to their gods Gisane and Demetr which soon became the sacred seat and the rallying point of the clan. About the year A.D. 304 St. Gregory appeared before these temples in the course of his idol-smashing tour through Armenia. At first he was unsuccessful but he soon secured re-inforcements. Desperate battles were fought and the Indians were overpowered although their leaders exhibited courage worthy of heroes. The Indians implored that their idols might be spared. Six priests fell at the temple door and another died under torture without revealing the treasury of the temple. The Christians then proceeded to break up the copper statues of the gods which were 12 and 15 cubits high. The temples were razed to the ground, and on the site of Demetr's temple St. Gregory erected a church, while a wooden cross marked the place where Gisane's idol had stood. More than 5,000 idolators submitted to baptism, and 438 persons, the sons of priests or temple-servants, who remained obdurate,

had their heads shaved and were transported to Phaitakaran, near the shores of the Caspian.

Of the two Indian Gods in the above statement Gisane seems to be almost certainly a corruption of Krishna. We thus find a number of Indian followers of Krishna cult settled in Armenia about 150 years before the birth of Christ. As Kennedy remarks, the west-ward migration of these Indians, although the earliest we know of, cannot have been the first of its kind. The number of these followers in A.D. 300 was more than five thousand and the influence of this community on the religious ideas of the locality must have been considerable.

In view of the fact that both Brahmanical and Buddhist cults existed in Syria at the time when Christianity arose it is difficult to believe that neither of these ancient faiths had considerable influence on the rise and development of this new cult. One of the latest writers on the subject, while rejecting extreme claims in favour of Indian influence, admits that the immense popularity of asceticism and the extravagant forms it assumed in the Thebaid may very well be traced to the stories of Indian Sannyāsins and Sramans which are so prominent in early orthodox Christian literature. He also suggests that the relic-worship and the use of the rosary were possibly due to Indian influence. The same writer also acknowledges the great debt that semi-Christian sects and heresies owed to India. Manicheism borrowed Buddhist ideas, and Gnosticism together with its later offshoots, shows distinct traces of Hindu influence. Its doctrine of the plurality of heavens is essentially Indian and its three qualities resemble the three *guṅas* of the Sānkhya System. Origen (A.D. 185)

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[1]. *J.R.A.S*, 1904, p. 309.

the most learned and original of the early church fathers, and perhaps the noblest figure of them all, believed in metempsychosis. Reference may also be made in this connection to the very close resemblance in essential characteristics between the Christian Church and the old Buddhist Caityas.

The intercourse between India and the west continued after the rise of Christianity. During the first four or five centuries of the Christian era the trade and commercial activity between India and the western countries was at its height. The Greek author of *the Periplus of the Eurythraean Sea*, visited India in the first century A.D., and found Indian coasts studded with harbours, from which merchant vessels sailed to Persia, Arabia, Africa and Red Sea ports. Some historians were so much obsessed by the present day conditions of India that even the detailed account of that book would not convince them that the Indians could ever cross the sea and apply themselves to trade and maritime activity. One of them says: " The trade thus carried on was very extensive but appears to have been conducted by Greeks and Arabs." It is perfectly true that many evidences of the trade activity of the Indians which we know to-day were unknown when they wrote. Still *the Periplus of the Eurythraean Sea* itself contains unerring testimony to it. Thus speaking of the ports on the African coast the author says, " Ships are also customarily fitted out from the places across the sea from Ariaca and Barygaza, *i.e.*, the Bombay coast, bringing to these far side market towns the product of their own places." Again the author remarks with reference to market towns near the mouth of the Euphrates, that large vessels are regularly sent to these towns from Barygaza,

i.e., Broach. Further the author found a number of Indian colonists in an island off the African coast and learnt that they had emigrated there to carry on trade. It would be strange indeed if after all these any one would refuse to credit the Indians for taking any part in the brisk trade activity that was going on between their own shores and foreign lands in the west. The result of this vast trade is clearly indicated by Pliny. He remarks that Indian articles of luxury were favoured by the Romans, and laments that "There was no year in which India did not drain the Roman empire of fifty million sesterces (*i.e.*, £1,000,000)." Even in our days hundreds of Roman coins unearthed from Indian soil have borne testimony to this wonderful trade activity of the Indians.

The commercial intercourse led to political relations between India and the Roman empire.[2] Augustus Caesar received more than one embassy from India and according to one of the latest authorities these were four in number and proceeded from Punjab, Gujrat, Chera and Pandva kingdoms. Probably the Chola kingdom also sent an embassy. One of the embassies was accompanied by an Indian philosopher who burned himself in the flames at Athens. Other details of this embassy have been preserved by an eye-witness, Nicolas of Damascus. They took four years on the journey by land and reached Augustus at Samos in 21 B.C., after a great deal of sufferings to which several members of the party succumbed.

Since the age of Augustus Indian embassies to Roman emperors became almost a regular feature. We have references to embassies to three successive emperors, Trajan (A.D. 98—117), Hadrian (A.D. 117—

[2] For the account of the embassies that follow *cf.* 'Roman Commerce' pp. 35-7, 77, 95, 99, 103, 124, 137-9.

138) and Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138—161) as well as to Heliogabalus (A.D. 218—222), Aurelian (A.D. 270—275), Constantine (A.D. 323—353) and Julian (A.D. 361—363).

The political and commercial intercourse led to a more intimate knowledge of India in the west. A papyrus discovered a few years ago contains a Greek farce written in the second century A.D. The main plot turns round a Greek lady Charition who was ship-wrecked on the Indian coast. The Greek author shows intimate knowledge of India and like a true dramatist makes the Indians in his drama speak in their own tongue. Another writer Dio Chrysostom who lived in the second century A.D. mentions Indians as having frequented the markets of Alexandria and says that they came by way of trade. He learnt from them that the poems of Homer were translated into Indian languages. An evidence of this intercourse is preserved in an inscription on the temple at Dedesiya near the Nile river which contains the name of an Indian. Clement of Alexandria who died about A.D. 220 shows an intimate knowledge of India. He correctly refers to the faith and practice of the Brahmins and Buddhists and clearly distinguishes the two sects. Archelaus of Carrha (A.D. 278) and St. Jerome (A.D. 340) both mention Buddha by name and narrate the tradition of his birth. "The Buddha story became gradually known in the west, until by a coincidence, hardly to be paralleled in literature, it was narrated in the eighth century A.D. by John of Damascus as the life of a Christian Saint. Under the guise of Saint Josaphat, Gautama the Bodhisattva found his way into the Christian Church and was included in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII.[3]"

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[3] Intercourse, p. 142.

Bardasanes, the Babylonian, wrote a very interesting work on the Indian philosophers. He acquired his information from one Sandane, an Indian who came with an embassy to Syria in A.D. 218. Through this work of Bardasanes Indian philosophy exercised a great influence on the development of neo-Platonism. As regards secular matters it is recorded that the Romans employed Indians to train their elephants.

While India thus influenced the religion and literature of the west, she was herself influenced by the latter in various ways. Her debt to Greece in sculpture, architecture, and coinage, and to Rome in mathematics and astronomy is well known. It is also generally believed that she owed the art of writing to the Semitic races of the west and that some of her political concepts are based upon Persian models. Further borrowings on her part from the west are upheld by many scholars but cannot be definitely proved. In any case it is certain that there was a free and constant intercourse between India and the civilized countries of the west and each inspired the other with some of the best elements of its civilization.

So far about western countries. Let us now turn towards the north. Here we find the same commercial activity of the Indians. Indian merchants with their caravans travelled beyond the Hindukush to the great emporium of Bactra where the roads from India, China and the western countries converged. "There the cargoes were shipped on to rafts and floated down the Oxus to the Caspian, and thence partly by land and partly by river, to the Euxine. In the east they passed beyond the tableland of

Pamir, across the desert of Gobi, till they reached the frontiers of the Celestial Empire of China."

The commercial activity in the north was accompanied or rather followed by political activity. Besides the conquest of Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, Indian arms succeeded in carving out a principality at Khotan in the desert of Gobi far beyond the roof of the world. Besides clear traditions among Indians, Tibetans and the Khotanese, satisfactory evidence of the Indian administration at Khotan has been found by Sir Aurel Stein in his memorable excavations at that place at the beginning of this century. The coins and manuscripts found in Khotan prove beyond all doubt that Indian language was in daily use for administrative purposes throughout the Khotan about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Names of officials are purely Indian such as Bhima, Bangasena, Nandasena, and we meet with familiar official designations such as *Chara* (secret agent), *lekhahāraka* (letter-carrier), *duta* (messenger) *rājadvārapurasthita* (President of the royal court), etc. Thus about the third century A.D. we find an Indian administration firmly planted on the borders of the desert of Gobi, beyond the northern limits of Tibet and further east than the tableland of Pamir.

The commercial and political influence of India in the north resulted in almost a complete cultural conquest of this region in Central Asia. Indian religion, Indian art, Indian alphabet and literature, and above all, Indian ideas, manners and customs profoundly affected these far off countries and civilized their nomadic inhabitants. It has been established by a study of the Central Asian manuscripts, written in Kuchean or Khotanese, the two principal languages

in the area, that the scripts used in both were varieties of the Indian Gupta script, evidently imported into Eastern Turkestan by immigrants from India. So completely Indian in character were the vestiges of the ruined cities in this region that Sir Aurel Stein has remarked in one place that while visiting the excavated sites which lay buried deep under the sands of the desert he often thought that he was still within the familiar surroundings of a ruined ancient city in the Punjab.

Sir Aurel Stein also carried on excavations in later years (1906—8) in the region further east across the Takla Makan desert and along the Tarim basin right up to the north-western corner of China. The nature and extent of the cultural influence of India in this region have been revealed by the wonderful archaeological explorations of Sir Aurel Stein. The results of these explorations have been vividly described by him in his monumental works *Ser-India, Innermost Asia* and various other well-known publications. A perusal of these would bring home to any unbiassed reader, how thoroughly Indian culture and civilization had moulded the character of the people.

It is not necessary to refer at length to the detailed accounts of Sir Aurel Stein or to the numerous documents and inscriptions written in Indian language and character discovered by him, but it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that his researches have definitely established the fact that vast regions in Central Asia owed their civilization principally to India. The Indian influence was prominent even as late as the seventh century A.D., and the great Chinese traveller Hieun-Tsang observed it in course

of his journey from China to India through Turkestan. Thus Hieun-Tsang speaks of Yen-ki, a place about two thousand miles from the frontier of India, where the prevailing system of writing was taken from that of India with slight modifications, and where the people scrupulously followed India in the matter of religious doctrines. The people of Kucha, a neighbouring place, also owed their writings and religion to India, and we are told that they studied the books of their religion in the language of India. Throughout the region that Hieun-Tsang traversed on his way from India to China, he found Buddhism to be the prevalent religion and formalities, ceremonies, and artistic achievements associated with it found favour everywhere.

Through Central Asia the Indian culture and civilization first penetrated into China and then to the remoter regions in the north of Asia. The history of Buddhism in China is a fascinating story but cannot be referred to in details. A few characteristic features, however, may be noted.

In the first place it is a question not merely of the spread of certain religious doctrines in China, but the assimilation by her of the spirit of Indian culture and mode of thought. This was brought about by the long and intimate intercourse between the two countries. On the one hand China was visited at regular intervals by a succession of illustrious Buddhist preachers not only from India but also from those regions in Central and western Asia which had already deeply imbibed Indian civilization. On the other hand streams of Chinese pilgrims came to India to study the Buddhist scriptures and visit the holy sites, and transmitted back to their own country a first-

hand knowledge of Indian life and manners. We may give a brief outline of the origin and development of this intercourse, as it is not possible to deal with it in detail.

According to the Chinese tradition a band of eighteen Buddhist monks came to China during the latter half of the third century B.C. This is not, however, generally regarded as a historical fact. But there is a definite reference to the intercourse between India and China in the report which Chang Kien, the famous Chinese ambassador in the court of the Yue-chi, presented to the emperor about 126 B.C. In the year 2 B.C., another Chinese ambassador sent to his court a Buddhist text which he had received from the Yue-chi. It was in the court of the Yue-chi that the Chinese met the Indian missionaries Kasyapa, Matañga and Dharmaratna who made summaries of Buddhist doctrines for propagation in China. Later these two Indians came to China in A.D. 68 and composed four or five works in Chinese on Buddhist doctrines.

The number of these missions to China increased considerably as soon as the routes in Central Asia were made secure by the military expeditions undertaken by General Panchao and his son Pan Yong. The earliest of the missionaries after this incident was an Arsacid prince from Persia. Whether he carried on his study in India or under Indian teachers we do not know, but he translated quite a large number of Buddhist texts in Chinese. He was aided in his laborious task by one Indo-Scythian, two Sogdian and three Indian Buddhists. They also trained the Chinese to assist them in their work.

Since this time we possess the names of a large

number of Indians who regularly visited China and translated original Buddhist texts into Chinese. In addition to the numerous Indians, the work of translation was done by teachers belonging to various parts of Asia, including Kuchean, Parthian, Sogdien, and Scythian. One of the most renowned of these translators was the Indian scholar Kumārajīva who spent twelve years in translating important texts, nearly one hundred in number. Although Kumārajīva died in A.D. 413, his collaborators Punyatrāta, Buddhayāśas and Dharmayaśas continued the work till A.D. 417. Since the fifth century A.D., the visit of a large number of Indian scholars to China became a regular feature and there was a regular colony of Indian priests in several cities. The sixth and seventh centuries A.D. also saw hundreds of Buddhists from China and other parts of Asia pouring into India, and the University of Nālandā became an international centre. These on their return translated the Buddhist texts which they carried from India. It is difficult to give an adequate idea of the extent of these translations. Beal calculated as early as 1871 that the total Indian texts translated into Chinese amount to about seven hundred times the size of the New Testament. Actually it would perhaps be much larger. It is difficult to quote another instance where the literature of one country has been used to any thing like this extent by the people of an altogether different race, or the personal contact between the learned elements of the two has been so intimate. And what we know of China is evidently equally true of many other regions of Asia.

In any case it is certainly true of Tibet. Here the Indians played perhaps even a larger part than in China in transforming the thoughts, beliefs and

religious sentiments of the people. Buddhism was introduced in Tibet in the seventh century A.D. from Nepal and China. Buddhist priests from Bengal and Bihar visited it in the eighth century A.D., at the invitation of the king of Tibet. Since that period a close and intimate association grew between these two countries and fortunately a fairly detailed account of it has been preserved in Tibetan chronicles.[4] A few interesting points, culled from Tibetan records, may be noted below.

As to the origin of the Tibetan alphabet, the Tibetan chronicles give us an interesting account. We are told that at the time of the introduction of Buddhism the art of writing was unknown in Tibet. The king of Tibet accordingly sent seven of his intelligent officers to India to study the art of reading and writing. But they could not complete the journey and returned. Then a brave talented minister of the king volunteered for the task and the king sent him with a large quantity of gold for making presents to Indian princes and professors. After a long and tedious journey he reached India and visited a Brahmana named Lipidatta. He persuaded the Indian Brahman, after a long speech and presents of gold, to teach him the art of writing and reading and completed his education at the famous University of Nālandā before he returned to Tibet. This tradition has not been accepted in all its details by modern scholars[5] but all are agreed that the Tibetan alphabet was derived from Indian writing and was learnt in India by Tibetan scholars.

This event may be dated in the seventh century A.D. During the next century Śānta-Rakshita, the high priest of Nālandā, was invited by the king of

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[4] Pandits, pp. 49 ff.
[5] *Ep. Ind.* XI, 266 ff. Buddhist Mss. p. XVII.

Tibet and was received with the highest honours. He was given the title Ācārya Bodhisattva and appointed by the king the High Priest of Tibet. It was under his direction that Buddhist monachism, known as Lamaism, was established in Tibet. Several other Indian Buddhist preachers helped Śānta-Rakshita. Among them the name of Kamalasila may be prominently mentioned. When a Chinese Buddhist missionary began to preach in Tibet doctrines which were at variance with those taught by Sānta-Rakshita, and proved more than a match for the latter and his associates, the Tibetan king invited Kamalasila, the great Buddhist philosopher of Magadha. Accordingly Kamalasila proceeded to Tibet and vanquished the Chinese Missionary. He was highly honoured by the Tibetan king and placed at the head of the metaphysical branch of the Buddhist Church.

In the 9th century A.D. many learned pundits from Bengal and Bihar were invited to Tibet by king Ralpachan who ascended the throne about A.D. 817. He was a very religious person and invited Indian pundits to translate Sanskrit books into Tibetan. He also introduced weights and measures after the Indian pattern. Gradually the old aristocracy was replaced by Buddhist monks and this led to a revolution, and gradual decline of Buddhism. From this state Buddhism was ultimately revived by the efforts of a Buddhist preacher from Bengal, Atīśa or Dīpaṅkara Sri Jñana whose name is held in the highest veneration in Tibet next only to that of Gautama Buddha.

The life of Atīśa is interesting in more ways than one. Born towards the close of the tenth century A.D. in Bengal he entered the Buddhist order and was

soon reputed to be proficient in all the Śāstras. He then resolved to make further studies under Candrakīrti, the high priest of Suvarṇadvīpa who was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. He embarked in a merchant vessel and reached the island after several months of tedious voyage. Dīpaṅkara stayed in Suvarṇadvīpa for twelve years in order to completely master the teachings of Buddha and returned to India after visiting Ceylon and other islands. He was then acknowledged as the chief of the Buddhist monks and was appointed as the High Priest of Vikramasila monastery. About this time the Tibetan king decided to purify the religion in his land which had become debased in course of time. He accordingly sent 21 select monks to visit India in order to study the religion of Buddha, and to secure the services of as many eminent teachers as possible who were prepared to visit Tibet in order to reform the religion. Of these twenty-one monks, nineteen died in India, but the remaining two returned with thirteen Indian scholars. Learning from them of the high reputation of Dīpaṅkara the king of Tibet sent a special agent to Vikramasila to invite Dīpaṅkara to Tibet. The messenger was sent with one hundred attendants and a large quantity of gold. He delivered the letter of the king of Tibet to Dīpaṅkara with a large piece of bar-gold as the present from his sovereign and requested the learned patriarch to honour Tibet with a visit. But Dīpaṅkara declined the presents as well as the invitation even though the Tibetan envoy wept bitterly in his presence. On the return of this envoy, a second one was sent and when even this failed a third envoy was decided upon. Choice fell this time upon a Tibetan scholar who had learned Sanskrit in India. He spent three years in Vikramsila before he could persuade Atīśa to visit Tibet.

During this period he studied Sanskrit Buddhist literature and translated many books into Tibetan. He has left a vivid and detailed account of Atīśa's journey to Tibet. Atīśa was received at the frontier by four generals with 300 horsemen. The king offered him a most cordial reception and gave him the title Supreme Lord. Dīpaṅkara travelled in different parts of Tibet during the remaining thirteen years of his life. He wrote many works, twenty of which are specifically named, and delivered no less than one hundred discourses. He reformed the religion in Tibet and restored it to its former purity and grandeur. He died at Lhasa at the age of 73 and is remembered even to-day with the highest veneration all over Tibet.

It is not necessary to give further details of the hundreds of Indian pundits who visited the land of snow, and not only preached the Buddhist religion and translated Indian texts, but transmitted to that inaccessible region the various elements of Indian culture and civilization. The two huge Tibetan collections of texts known popularly as *Kengur* and *Tengur* still remain as the great monument to their memory. These collections contain the literary works, both original texts as well as translations, composed by Indian scholars. The catalogue of Henri Cordier gives the names of many hundreds of Indian authors and the list of books composed or translated by them in Tibet. Most of the books which are preserved in translations in these two collections are now lost and forgotten in India and Tibet is repaying her old debt to India by restoring them to Indian scholarship.

I shall not pursue the story of further spread of Indian culture through China to Korea and Japan, because the general account which is fairly well

known can only be supplemented by indirect evidence. The case is however, far different with Burma, Indo-China, Malay Peninsula and the Islands of the Malay Archipelago. The Indian culture and civilization made a more thorough conquest of these regions and the whole fabric of Indian art, religion, literature and social ideas was transplanted there. But as this topic would form the subject matter of my next two lectures I need not deal with it at the present moment.

If we now review the facts referred to above we can judge for ourselves the correctness of the popular notion that Indians led an isolated life and Indian civilization was confined within its natural frontiers. It will be seen that from the remotest times India maintained intercourse with the outside world by way of trade and commerce. As a corollary to this Indian civilization also spread far beyond its boundaries. Gradually by virtue of its superiority Indian civilization transformed the less advanced peoples. The wide regions of Asia to the north, south-east, east and west offered a rich and fruitful field for the missionary enterprise of the Indians and they were not slow to take advantage of it. In greater or less degree the influence of Indian civilization made itself felt all over Asia. In the west, its influence declined early owing to the impact of Christianity and Islam. But in all other directions it was greater in extent and more enduring. Indian religion carried with it the elements of Indian culture in all aspects such as language, literature, art and architecture. The somewhat detailed account given in Tibetan chronicles gives us an idea of what happened in respect of other countries. When we read in pages of Hiuen-Tsang that the language and alphabet of remote regions of

Central Asia were borrowed from India we seldom realize the efforts behind it such as we read in the pages of Tibetan chronicles. What an amount of adventurous enterprises involving untold hardships and sufferings lies behind these cultural conquests can only be dimly realized when we read in the Tibetan chronicles the detailed anecdotes full of pathos and imbued with deep human interest. On the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Indian cultural influence deeply permeated the soul of diverse races in Asia over widely extended regions, and enabled them in many cases to emerge out of primitive barbarism. India thus radiated her cultural influence, across the mountains and seas, far beyond the frontiers that nature set up for her, and played a larger part in civilizing Asia than perhaps even Greece did in respect of Europe. This is what we mean by Greater India.

ABBREVIATIONS.

N. B.—Following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes.

Buddhist MSS.=Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, by A. F. R. Hoernle.

Roman Commerce=E. H. Warmington. The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (1928).

Intercourse=Intercourse between India and the Western World by H. G. Rawlinson (1916).

Pandits=Indian Pandits in the land of Snow (1893) by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das.

LECTURE II.

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIZATION IN THE FAR EAST.

POLITICAL ASPECT.

Having described in my first lecture the intercourse between India and the regions lying to its west, north and north-east, I shall now proceed to discuss in some details the part played by India in moulding the life and civilization of the people living to the east and south-east. As in the other case intercourse in this region also first began by way of trade, both by land and sea. But soon it developed into regular colonization, and Indians established political authority in various parts of the vast Asiatic continent that lay to the south of China proper and to the east and south-east of India. Numerous Hindu states rose and flourished during a period of more than thousand years both on the mainland and in the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Even when the Hindu rule became a thing of the past in India itself, powerful kings bearing Hindu names were ruling over mighty empires in these far-off domains. The Hindu colonists brought with them the whole framework of their culture and civilization and this was transplanted in its entirety among the people who had not yet emerged from their primitive barbarism.

This fascinating tale of the rise of a New India far away from the motherland has an epic grandeur of its own. But it is not possible to deal with that

aspect, or even to go into details of the different states within the short space of two lectures. I would therefore confine myself to a general account of the growth of Indian kingdoms in this region, and a somewhat detailed account of one or two important or typical examples.

The Indians travelled to these regions both by land and sea. From very early times there was a regular trade-route by land between Eastern India and China and also between Annam and India. The extensive trade along these routes led to the establishment of Indian colonies not only in upper Burma but also in the mountainous regions of the upper valleys of the Irawady, the Salween, the Mekong and the Red River as far as Yunnan. Yunnan was named Gandhara, and even as late as the 13th century A.D. Rashiduddin referred to this province by its Indian name and remarked that the population of Yunnan originated from the Indian and the Chinese. Similarly we can trace almost a continuous string of petty Hindu states from the Brahmaputra to the Gulf of Tonkin.

The Indians also advanced further south along the valleys of the Chindwin, Irawady, Salween and Mekong, and various Hindu States were established in the hinter-zone of Indo-China. But these are comparatively little known save those in Burma. I do not propose to refer to Indian influence in Burma, first because it is too patent even to-day to need any emphasis and secondly because until the other day, it was a part of India itself. I would therefore deal only with the Hindu kingdoms that flourished near the sea-coast and in the islands, partly because they attained to greater power and

fame, but mainly because we possess far more abundant materials for the study of their history.

The earliest Hindu kingdoms founded at the beginning of the Christian era or shortly thereafter are found in Malay Peninsula, Cambodia and Annam in the mainland and the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali. Though isolated remains of Hindu kingdoms are found in other regions, the evidence is too scanty to give us any definite idea about their origin and growth.

The Malay Peninsula being the first territory on the route to the Far East was evidently colonized at an early period and certainly not later than the first century A.D. This is proved by the evidence of Ptolemy whose account is in striking agreement with that given in *Niddesa*, a Pali canonical book. We know from the Chinese Chronicles that various Hindu states flourished here during the first five centuries of the Christian era. But the Peninsula became the seat of a powerful empire under the Śailendra dynasty which ruled from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D.

Later, in the fifteenth century the kingdom of Malacca rose to great power and fame. The marriage of a king of Malacca with a Muslim princess led to his own conversion to that faith and this paved the way for the spread of Islam not only throughout the Malay Peninsula but even further beyond.

In the adjoining land of Cambodia we find an early Hindu kingdom referred to by the Chinese as Fu-nan. This was succeeded by the powerful Kambuja kingdom which gradually conquered not

only the whole of what is now known after them as Cambodia but also nearly the whole of Siam proper. Hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions give us a fairly detailed account of the long line of kings beginning from Jayavarman II—a proud name borne by six of his successors—and ending with Sri-Indra Jayavarman who ruled from eighth to the fourteenth century A.D. During the fifteenth century A.D. the mighty Kambuja kingdom became a prey to invasions from Annamites from the east and the Thais or Siamese on the west. The kings gradually lost power and territory till they were forced to acknowledge the French as the *de facto* rulers of the land. But the stories of the wars and conquests of the earlier kings, their beneficent activities and religious endowments, and above all the stupendous architectural works undertaken by them form a glorious chapter in the history of Greater India.

To the east of Cambodia lay the Hindu kingdom of Champā in what is now called Annam. There we find a ruling dynasty founded by Śrī-Māra as early as the second century A.D., and from that time onwards till the 15th century A.D., various Hindu dynasties ruled over the kingdom from different centres such as Amarāvatī, Pāṇḍuraṅga, Srī Vijaya, Kauṭhāra, etc. They had to wage a continuous fight with their northern neighbours, the Annamites, and suffered invasions from the Chinese, the Mongols and the Kambujas. But the heroic struggle they carried on for more than a thousand years against enormous odds invests their record with a glory of its own. Ultimately they went down and hordes of Annamites poured upon the fair valleys and cities which bore Indian names and were flourishing seats of culture and civilization. The country was once more plunged

into the barbarism from which it had emerged with the help of the Indians and only the ruins of monuments stand to-day to tell the tale of old days of Hindu glory.

Of the Hindu kingdoms in the Indian Archipelago, Yavadvīpa or Java is undoubtedly the most famous. It is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Chinese records refer to the foundation of a Hindu dynasty in the first century A.D. We find a Hindu king Devavarman sending an embassy to China in A.D. 132, this being the earliest recorded diplomatic intercourse between the Hindu colonists and the Imperial court in China which gradually grew to be a regular feature of their political life. We get a valuable account of Java from the records of Fa-hien who visited it early in the fifth century A.D. Four Sanskrit records, which probably belong to the sixth century A.D., refer to a king called Pūrṇavarman. Two centuries later, Java was ruled by a powerful king named Sañjaya who had extended the boundaries of his kingdom beyond the island. Later, Java formed a part of the Śailendra empire. After the downfall of that empire, three important kingdoms rose to power in succession. Their kings bore Hindu names and epithets and many of them achieved high power and distinction. The last of the three kingdoms, known as Majapahit or Vilva-tikta became the seat of a mighty empire wielding authority over an area roughly corresponding to the present Dutch East Indies. It was during this period of greatness that the people were gradually converted to Islam by the Muslim merchants from India and even the members of the royal family adopted the new faith. Towards the close of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century the last Hindu king of Vilva-

tikta fought stubbornly for defending his faith, but being defeated, fled to the island of Bali with retinues and attendants that still remained Hindu. There, in that remote island separated by a narrow channel from Java, Hinduism flourishes even to-day literally like a dot in the great ocean, as the solitary evidence of the great part it played in civilizing that extensive region.

Sumatra, like the Malay Peninsula, was situated midway on the sea-route between India and China, and Hindu colonization began there probably long before the Christian era. Some of the localities mentioned by Ptolemy were probably situated on the western and south-eastern coasts of Sumatra. Not much is known of the early Hindu kingdoms in Sumatra. But the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya which was probably founded before the 4th century A.D. came to be a famous and powerful state before the end of the seventh century A.D. Its authority was extended to the Malay Peninsula and many islands in the Archipelago. A Sanskrit inscription found at Ligor in Malay Peninsula refers to the mighty prowess of the king of Śrī-Vijaya, the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings made obeisance to him. The Chinese traveller It-sing describes Śrī-Vijaya as an important centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern sea. He also tells us that the city of Śrī-Vijaya was the chief centre of trade with China and that its king possessed ships sailing between India and Śrī-Vijaya.

Śrī-Vijaya with the rest of Sumatra formed an integral part of the Śailendra empire. After the fall of that empire arose a new kingdom called

Malayu which sought to rival the exploits of Śrī-Vijaya. This position of supremacy was occupied in the fifteenth century by another state called Samudra which has given the present name Sumatra to the whole island. But gradually Islam made a peaceful penetration throughout the country in the wake of trade.

The island of Borneo, the home of the head-hunters called the Dyak, was the seat of a flourishing Hindu kingdom in the fifth century A.D. Four Sanskrit inscriptions refer to a king Mūlavarman who flourished about this time. The ruins discovered in Borneo and the account preserved in the Chinese chronicles leave no doubt that independent Hindu kingdoms continued to flourish till in the fourteenth century A.D. they were conquered by Java.

The history of the island of Bali is like that of Borneo. Hindu kingdoms flourished there at an early date, but they were conquered by Java. Ultimately the king of Java, flying before the triumphant march of Islam, found a shelter in Bali which to-day possesses the unique distinction of being the only colony which still retains the Hindu culture and civilization.

Having given a brief survey of the principal regions where the Hindus established their political authority on a firm basis and ruled for more than a thousand years we may now proceed to give a somewhat detailed account of two kingdoms as illustrative specimens.

One of these is referred to by the Chinese as Fu-nan evidently the Chinese transcription of an original name which is, however, lost. This kingdom corresponded roughly to Cambodia proper and a part of Cochin-China and comprised the lower valley of the Mekong river.

According to the Chinese accounts the primitive people of Fu-nan were semi-savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks. Their queen Lieu-ye was, however, defeated by Huen-tien, a follower of the Brahmanical religion, who married her and ruled over the country. He introduced the elements of civilized life. In particular he made the women wear clothes.

Huen-tien, a name which represents Sanskrit Kauṇḍinya was most probably a Hindu colonist who came direct from India, though the possibility is not altogether excluded that he might have been a Hindu colonist from some part of Malay Peninsula or Malay Archipelago. The foundation of the Hindu kingdom by him cannot be placed later than the first century A.D.

After Huen-tien, his descendants ruled over the kingdom of Fu-nan, till about A. D. 200 when the great general Fan-Che-man was elected king by the people. The first part of the name, Fan, is the Chinese equivalent for Varman, but it is difficult to restore the whole name. Fan-Che-man was an able ruler and laid the foundations of the greatness of Fu-nan. He subjugated the neighbouring states to a distance of a thousand miles which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. He constructed a powerful navy and with its help conquered about ten states some of which were situated in the Malay Peninsula. He then assumed the title of Great King of Fu-nan. On his death the kingdom was usurped by his sister's son General Fan-Chan. This reign is of special importance as we know definitely that he sent embassies to both China and India about the middle of the third century A.D. A Chinese text has preserved the account of

an Indian merchant who made a voyage to Fu-nan for purposes of trade and visited king Fan-Chan. We learn from this account that the distance between Fu-nan and India was 5000 miles and a return voyage took three to four years. Fan-Chan sent one of his relations as an ambassador to India. The latter reached the mouth of the Ganges after a voyage of about a year, visited various parts of Eastern India and returned with envoys of the Indian king after four years' absence.

The kings of Fu-nan also sent a number of embassies to China in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The Hindu king who sent an embassy in A.D. 357 is named Chan-tian, which no doubt represents either Chandana or Chandra. Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Kauṇḍinya, a Brahman inhabitant of India came to Fu-nan and was ultimately elected its king. He introduced Indian laws, manners and customs. This evidently refers to a fresh colonial enterprise directly from India as a result of which the country was thoroughly Brahmanized.

The Chinese texts give us a long account of another king of Fu-nan named Jayavarman who belonged to the line of Kauṇḍinya. He sent an Indian monk Nāgasena as an ambassador to China. He represented to the Chinese emperor that the dominant religious cult in Fu-nan was that of Maheśvara and wrote a poem eulogizing Maheśvara, Buddha, and the emperor. Throughout the reign of Jayavarman a very cordial and intimate relation subsisted between Fu-nan and China. Two Buddhist monks of Fu-nan named Sanghavarman and Mandrasena settled in China and translated various canonical

texts. Jayavarman died in A. D. 514 and was succeeded by Rudravarman, the only king of Fu-nan who has left any epigraphic record,—a Sanskrit Buddhist inscription sadly mutilated. In A.D. 517 he sent an Indian named Dharmapāla as an envoy to China and sent five other embassies to the imperial court between A.D. 519 and 539. In A.D. 539 he presented to the Chinese emperor a hair of Buddha, 12 feet long, which was preserved in his country.

Rudravarman is the last king of Fu-nan referred to by name in the Chinese texts. We learn from the Chinese texts that Fu-nan was conquered by Citrasena king of Chen-la, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court in A.D. 616-7. But this refers only to the conquest of a part of the kingdom including the capital. The king removed his capital to another city called Na-fu-na which probably stands for Navanagara and was situated near modern Kampot. There it maintained a precarious existence until it was finally extinguished by the king of Chen-la towards the close of the seventh century A.D.

The name Chen-la is used by the Chinese to refer to the kingdom of Kambuja. The inscriptions of Cambodia, several hundreds in number, give us a detailed and connected account of the kingdom from the seventh century A.D. Even the two kings of Chen-la, referred to above, are known from these inscriptions. There is hardly any doubt that Kambuja was originally a vassal state of Fu-nan but grew powerful enough in the seventh century A.D. to assert its supremacy and destroy the suzerain power. Henceforth Kambuja took the place of Fu-nan as a leading power in Indo-China and led a glorious existence for nearly seven hundred years.

The summarized account of Fu-nan given above may be taken as a representative type illustrating the early history of almost every ancient Hindu colony in the Far East. Originally a country of savages or semi-barbarians, it imbibes the rudimentary elements of civilization from a Hindu or Hinduized chief who establishes his authority either by conquest or more peaceful methods. Gradually it comes more and more into direct contact with India, and Hindu culture and civilization becomes the dominant feature.

In the case of Fu-nan we can distinctly trace two broad stages of Indianization, one in the first, and another in the fourth century A.D., and in both cases under the influence of its Hindu rulers, one of whom at any rate is said to have come directly from India.

Fu-nan may be regarded as one of the important centres from which Indian culture and civilization radiated on all sides. The conquests of Fan-Che-man and the establishment of an empire of Fu-nan must have facilitated the natural process by which the culture was spreading in all directions. The empire of Fu-nan must have extended over Siam, Malay Peninsula and a part of Burma, in the time of Fan-Che-man. Wan-chen, a writer of the third century A.D., says that the vassal states of Fu-nan were all governed by Mandarins, and that the great officers of the right and the left of the king were called Kuen-luen. This title was borne by the king and a large number of families in Fu-nan. These must have formed the aristocracy and the ruling class, and they formed the main instrument of the spread of Hindu culture and civilization all over the empire.

Some detailed account has been preserved of one of these vassal states named Tien-suen, or Tuen-siun which was situated about 500 miles from Fu-nan. The capital city was an important centre of trade and its market formed a meeting ground between the east and the west, frequented everyday by more than ten thousand men. An Indian named Che by the Chinese who lived in the fifth century A.D. and visited these parts gives the following account of Tuen-siun.

"Tuen-siun is a vassal state of Fu-nan. The king is called Kuen-luen. It contains five hundred Hu (probably mercantile caste) families of India, two hundred Fo-tu (probably Buddhists), and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas of India. The people of Tuen-siun follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brāhmaṇas settle in the country and do not go away."

The rest of the passage is concerned with the religious and social customs of India which are followed in Tuen-siun. The account is very illuminating as it gives a vivid image of an Indian colony in a foreign land and shows the process by which Indian colonies grew and exerted their influence over the indigenous population. It is the usual story of trade followed by a missionary propaganda of Brahmans, leading to gradual settlement in the country, establishment of political authority, fusion with the indigenous people by inter-marriage, and the virtual Indianization of the entire community.

Like Tuen-siun, Fu-nan itself was an important market town where met the traders from India and China. Evidently the same process, as described above, did also operate here in making it a flourishing

Indian colony. Its supremacy and importance are perhaps due to the fact that Indian colonists seized the political power at an early stage and kept up regular and intimate intercourse with the motherland. For apart from visits of individual Indians, we must remember that as sea-going vessels in those days kept close to the coast, Fu-nan must have been an important halting station in the voyage, between India and China, undertaken among others by traders and ambassadors, to which frequent reference is made in the Chinese chronicles. The Chinese texts also refer to trading voyages between India and Fu-nan. Whatever may be the reason there is no doubt that Fu-nan remained for at least three centuries the seat of an important Indian colony, both from political and commercial point of view.

Within a century of the downfall of Fu-nan we find the establishment of a vast empire by a dynasty of Indian colonists.

The researches of the Dutch scholars have only recently revealed the existence of this vast Indian empire which embraced nearly the whole of the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. Neither Indian history not Indian folk-lore has preserved any tradition of the famous royal dynasty that ruled over the empire with pomp and grandeur from the eighth century A.D. This is all the more to be wondered at as the dynasty was not only Indian in origin but had constant intercourse with the motherland both peaceful and hostile.

The dynasty was known as Śailendra, and we find it established as a royal power in Malay Peninsula in the year A.D. 775. Soon the kings of the dynasty

made themselves masters of the whole of the Malay Archipelago including Sumatra and Java and made their influence felt in Annam and Cambodia. For the first time in its history, this region, now known as Malayasia, achieved a political unity as integral parts of an empire which shortly rose to a height of glory and splendour unknown before in this part of the world. Some idea of the wealth and grandeur of this empire may be formed from the accounts of the Arab merchants who visited this region in course of trade.

Ibn Khordadbeh (A.D. 844-848) says that the king of Zabag is named Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *mans* of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure.' A part of his revenue, about 50 *mans* of gold per day, is derived from cock-fight. A leg of the cock which wins belongs by right to him and the owner of the cock redeems it by paying its value in gold.

Ibn Rosteh, writing about A.D. 903, remarks: "The great king (of Zabag) is called Mahārāja, *i.e.*, king of kings. He is not regarded as the greatest among the kings of India because he dwells in the islands. No other king is richer or more powerful than he and none has more revenue."

These Arab writers as well as several others such as Ishak bin Imran (died about A.D. 907) and Ibn Serapion also refer to merchandise exported from Zabag and tell us marvellous tales of the country.

But the most detailed account of Zabag is furnished by Abu Zaid Hasan who published about A.D. 916, the account originally written by Sulaiman in A.D. 851 with additional remarks of his own. He

applies the name Zabag both to the kingdom and its capital city. His remarks may be summed up as follows :

" The distance between Zabag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable.

"The king of this town has got the title Mahārāja. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) Parsangs. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 Parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (Śrī-Vijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) Parsangs, and the island called Rami with an area of about 800 (square) Parsangs. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of Maharaja. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) Parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade also, in camphor sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices and various other articles. There was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

" The Mahārāja exercises his sovereignty on all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated and there is a continuous line of villages there, so that when the cocks crow in the morning, the cry is taken up by those in the next village, and in this way the sound is taken up for nearly a distance of 100 Parsangs.

" There is one very extraordinary custom in Zabag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks

are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted and weighed and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals and royal slaves according to their rank and the remnant is distributed among the poor."

Masudi has given some details about Zabag in his work, "Meadows of Gold" (A.D. 943) Some of his relevant remarks are summed up below:—

1. Formerly there was a direct voyage between China and ports like Siraf and Oman. Now the port of Kalah serves as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries.

2. In the bay of Campa, is the empire of the Mahārāja, the king of islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of the king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil.

In spite of these detailed references to Zabag, which formed the home-island of the Śailendras and the nucleus of their empire, it has not been possible to locate it beyond all doubts. A keen and protracted controversy is now raging over the question. Until a few years ago the kingdom of Śrī-Vījaya in Sumatra was unquestionably accepted as Zabag, the seat of the Śailendra authority. But Abu Zaid Hasan's account, quoted above, is decisively against this view

For, after describing the island of Zabag and mentioning that its king is also overlord of a large number of islands, he adds : " Among the kingdoms over which he rules is the island called Sribuza" which undoubtedly refers to Śrī-Vijaya. This passage gave rise to doubts in my mind about the correctness of the accepted view and I studied the problem afresh in the light of all available materials. Although no final conclusion was possible, I hazarded the view that the central seat of the Śailendra authority should be located in the Malay Peninsula. At first it was regarded as a heresy. But later M. Coedes, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient accepted some of my views and was candid enough to acknowledge his own responsibility for some of the erroneous views which gained currency among scholars. Two years later Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales in a learned paper read before the India Society, London, endorsed my views about the location of the Śailendra capital in Malay Peninsula, and held that it was situated at modern Caiya. Lately M. Moens has dealt with the whole problem in detail in the *Tijdschrift Voor Ind. Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* in an article extending over more than 150 pages and he has placed the capital of the Śailendras in Malay Peninsula.

I have dealt with this problem of identification at some length because it is associated with the question of the migration of the Śailendras from India and its different stages. Without going into controversial details and minute archaeological evidence, I may state in broad outline the views which appear to me to be the most reasonable in the light of the evidence now available to us.

It is a noteworthy fact that shortly after the

supremacy of the Sailendras in Malayasia, this region came to be called Kling or Kalinga. The Sailendras also used in their inscriptions found at Java an alphabet which was very different from the current alphabet of the locality but which is identical with the alphabet used in the Pāla inscriptions found in Bengal and Bihar. To this we may add the fact that royal dynasties with such names as Śaila and Śailodbhava are found ruling in parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The cumulative effect of all these is a presumption that the Sailendras originally migrated from Kalinga or some region in its neighbourhood and were probably connected with some royal dynasties in India. It may be noted further that according to many scholars the name Talaing in Burma denotes migrations from Kalinga or Telingana. The name Talaing may perhaps be derived from Tri-Kalinga, the hilly region to the west of Kalinga. If this supposition be correct, we may hold that the Śailendras first crossed over to Lower Burma and then proceeded to Malay Peninsula. This is of course a mere hypothesis, but it opens up an interesting field of study which is likely to throw a flood of light on the spread of Indian culture in Burma and the Far East. Recently Dr. Coedes has suggested that the Kings of Fu-nan in Cambodia also might belong to the Śailendra dynasty.

The Śailendra emperors had diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese emperors in the east and the Indian monarchs, notably the Pāla and the Chola emperors in the west. The Chinese annals refer to no less than ten embassies during the tenth century A.D. sent to the Imperial Court from San-fo-tsi, the name by which they denoted the Sailendra empire. They also refer to trading vessels from San-fo-tsi visiting China.

The Śailendra kings were Buddhists of the Mahāyāna sect. They got their religious inspiration from Gauḍa or Bengal and an inscription dated A. D. 782 found at Kelurak in Java, refers to the royal Guru or spiritual preceptor of the kings as coming from Gauḍa. An inscription found at Nālandā in Bihar refers to the establishment of a monastery at Nālandā by King Balaputradeva of Suvarṇabhūmi belonging to the Śailendra dynasty. At his request the Pála emperor Devapāla of Bengal granted five villages in the district of Rājagrihā (modern Rajgir in Bihar) for the upkeep and repair of the monastery and defraying all necessary expenses of the religious establishment. Recently during the excavations at Nālandā quite a large number of bronze images have come to light and these are generally regarded as Javanese in origin. They may be regarded as belonging to this Javanese monastery of Nālandā. There is no doubt that Nālandā exercised a great influence upon the art and religious movements in Malayasia during the Śailendra period.

The Śailendra kings carried on similar friendly intercourse with the powerful Chola kings of South India. A copper-plate grant now preserved at Leiden (Holland) informs us that the Śailendra King Cūḍāmaṇivarman constructed a monastery at Nágapattana (modern Negapatam in Madras) called after him Cūḍāmaṇivarma-Vihāra. The Chola emperor Rājarāja the Great granted in the twenty-first year of his reign (*i.e.*, A.D. 1005) the revenue of a village for the upkeep of the shrine of Buddha in the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-Vihāra. Reference is also made in the same grant to Māra-Vijayottungavarman, son of Cūḍāmaṇi-Varma who must have succeeded his father shortly after A.D. 1005. These two Śailendra kings

are also referred to in Chinese annals as having sent embassies to the Imperial Court in A.D. 1003 and 1008 respectively. There were also commercial relations between the Cholas and the Śailendra empire and an old Tamil poem refers to ships with merchandise coming from Kalagam to the Chola port at the mouth of the Kaveri river. Kalagam is almost certainly to be identified with the capital city of the Śailendras called Kadāram in Chola records and Kalah by Arab merchants.

Unfortunately hostilities soon broke out between the Cholas and the Śailendras. In a large number of records of the Chola emperor, Rājendra Chola, reference is made to his victory over Saṅgrāma-Vijayottunga-varman, and a detailed list is given of the countries beyond the sea which were conquered by him. For a long time Indologists located these places in India, ignoring the express statement in the record that Rājendra Chola despatched many ships across the sea in order to conquer these regions. Next these places were located in Pegu in Burma, and V. A. Smith upheld this view in the latest edition of his History of India. There is, however, not the least doubt that the localities mentioned in the Chola records were constituent parts of the Śailendra empire in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, and Rājendra Chola came into possession of them after having defeated Saṅgrāma-Vijayottuṅgavarman, the Śailendra King, about A.D. 1025.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the cause of the outbreak of hostilities but commercial rivalry seems to have been the chief contributing factor of this untoward development. The geographical position of the Śailendra empire enabled it to control almost

the whole volume of martitime trade between western and eastern Asia and the dazzling prospect which its conquest offered to the future commercial supremacy of the Cholas seems to be the principal reason of the oversea expedition undertaken by Rājendra Chola. His signal success was chiefly due to the fact that by his overland conquests right up to the mouth of the Ganges, the naval resources of the whole of the eastern coast of India were concentrated in his hands.

The struggle thus begun continued for nearly half a century and two of Rājendra Chola's successors, *viz.*, Vīra Rājendra and Kulottuṅga claim victories over the Śailendra king. But the task of maintaining hold upon a distant country beyond the sea proved too difficult and the Chola emperors, sorely troubled at home, seem to have given up the ambitious project of developing a maritime empire at the cost of the Śailendras. An inscription, now preserved at Leiden, and dated A.D. 1090, states that at the request of the King of Kaḍāram *i.e.*, the Śailendra King, communicated by his two envoys, the Chola King Kulottuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted to the monastery called Cūḍāmaṇivarma-Vihāra by King Rājarāja, the Great. This perhaps indicates a resumption of friendly intercourse between the Śailendras and the Cholas, and in any case no Chola emperor after Kulottuṅga had any pretension of suzerainty over any part of the Śailendra empire.

The power and prestige of the Śailendras suffered a terrible blow by the crushing defeat at the hands of the Cholas. But exhausted and humiliated as it was their kingdom slowly recovered its former position. Unfortunately the name of the ruling dynasty is no

longer met with in contemporary records. The Chinese still refer to the empire by its old name, and the Ceylonese chronicles refer to the powerful kingdom of Jāvaka, the same as Zābag of the Arab writers. Thus although the empire continued for three centuries more, we do not definitely know whether the Sailendras still ruled over it. The Chinese work *Chu-fan-chi* describes the empire at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. as still embracing nearly the whole of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Ceylonese chronicle *Cullavaṁsa* describes two invasions of Ceylon by king Candrabhānu of Jāvaka about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. In the first invasion Candrabhānu devastated the whole island of Ceylon. But this was destined to be the last triumph of the famous empire. In course of the second expedition.Candrabhānu, in spite of his initial successes, was ultimately defeated, and fled with his life, leaving behind his family and treasures in the hands of the victorious enemy. But the diasater did not end here. Evidently his Ceylonese expedition brought him into conflict with the powerful Pāṇdya rulers of the South and in an inscription dated A.D. 1264 Jaṭāvarman Vīrapāṇḍya claims to have defeated and killed the king of Sāvaka which is undoubtedly the same as Jāvaka.

This was the beginning of the end. The old rival, the king of Java, now took opportunity of the weakness of the empire, and slowly but steadily the Javanese rulers destroyed the mighty empire. In a Chinese work dated A.D. 1349 the King of San-fo-tsi is described as a local ruler, while another Chinese work refers to the conquest of San-fo-tsi by Java some time before A.D. 1377.

Thus ended an empire which was established in

Malayasia by chiefs of Indian descent as early as eighth century A.D. after a glorious existence of nearly six hundred years. The Śailendra dynasty ruled over the empire certainly during the first half of this period and probably for a greater part of the second, though as yet we have no definite evidence of this.

But although the empire of the Śailendras perished more than five hundred years ago and even their very memory has utterly vanished, the new name Kalinga for the island of Java continued as a relic of their period of greatness. Besides, they made some permanent contributions to the culture and civilization of Java and left undying memorials of their greatness in the famous monuments of that island.

The Śailendras were Mahāyāna Buddhists and brought this cult into prominence in Malayasia where Hīnayānism prevailed up to the end of the seventh century A.D. The Śailendras, as noted above, received their religious inspiration from Bengal and one of the preceptors of the Śailendra kings came from this land. This also explains the development of Tantrism in Java and Sumatra. For we learn from the Tibetan historian Tāranātha that the Pāla period witnessed a great development of the cult in Bengal and Bihar. Tantrism therefore must have flowed from these lands to Java. One of the most famous Tantrik texts in Java, *Sang-hyang Kamahāyanikan*, was probably composed during the Śailendra period in Java. The Mahāyāna Buddhism introduced by the Sailendras left an abiding impress upon the populace for centuries to come and to a great extent transformed the religious life of Java and Sumatra.

This new religion was associated with a new development of art in Java, which produced the world

famous monument known as Borobudur. Indeed it was during the Śailendra period that Indo-Javanese art had reached its high-water mark of glory and splendour. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that in both architecture and sculpture they rivalled and even surpassed the motherland. Besides Borobuḍur, we have several other temples, called Caṇḍi in Java, of this period among which Caṇḍi Kalasan, Caṇḍi Sari, Caṇḍi Mendut and Caṇḍi Pavan may be ragarded as typical examples.

The Śailendra empire serves as a typical example of the colonial empire of the ancient Hindus. It differs in a striking degree from the conception of colonial empire in modern times. The Hindus did not regard their colonies as mainly an outlet for their excessive population and an exclusive market for their growing trade. These characteristics of modern colonization were perhaps not altogether absent, but they were not the dominant notes of the colonial policy in ancient India. In any case the colonies did not serve as a means of extending the political power of India, nor were they valued chiefly as a source of wealth which could be drained at will, without limit, to enrich the homeland of the colonists.

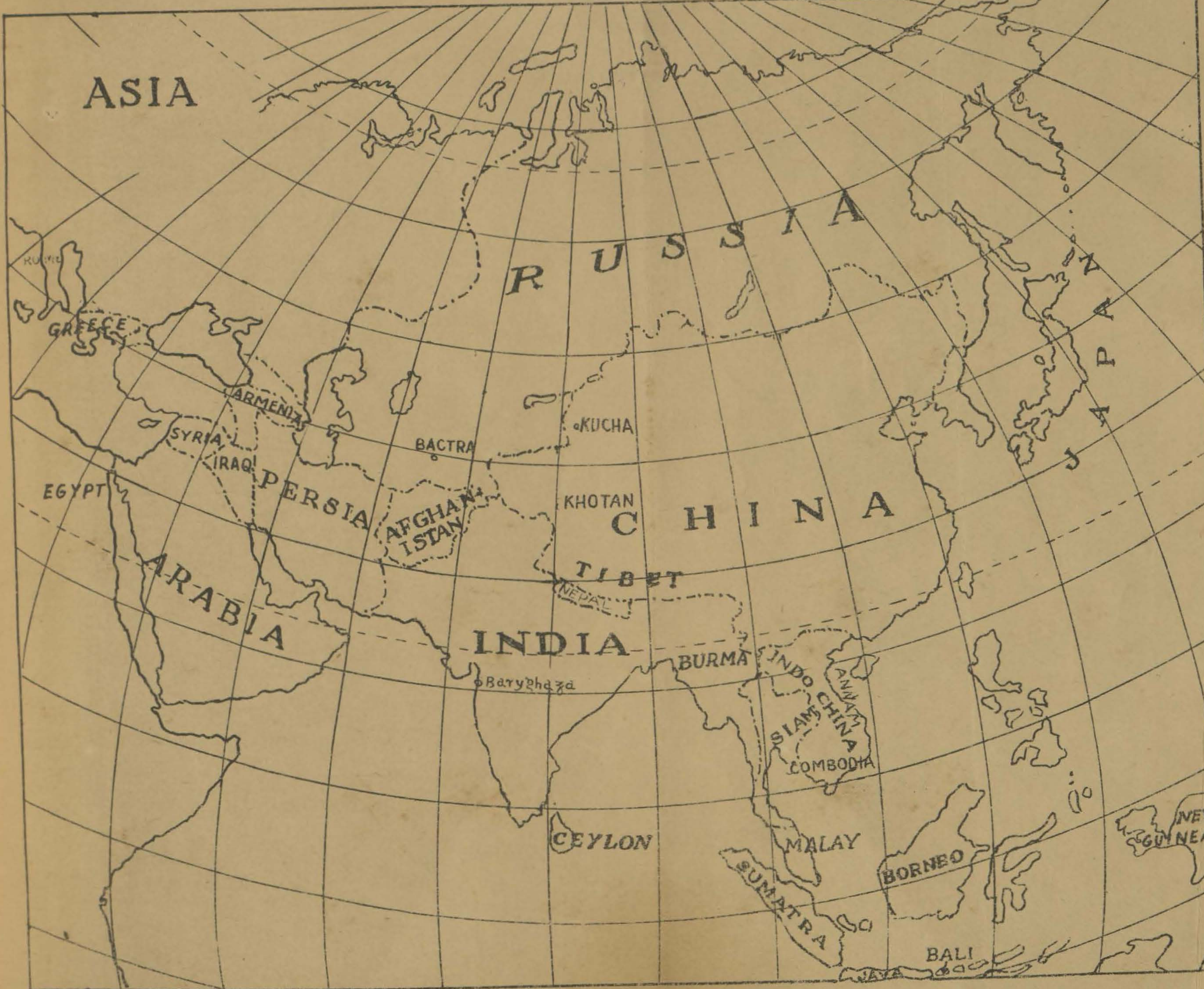
In short, the colonies were not regarded as a source of exploitation for the benefit of the conquering race. Whatever might have been the cause or nature of the original settlement of the Hindus in the various over-sea possessions, ultimately it tended to be a cultural mission for the uplift of the conquered. Where-ever they settled they introduced, to the fullest extent, the elements of culture and civilization of the motherland. Their religious and social institutions, and their language, art and letters, almost completely

superseded those of the people among whom they lived. They themselves became children of the soil and made the colonies their only home. They never kept aloof from the native population and merged themselves into the indigenous society. They did not seek to extirpate the natives, in order to preserve their purity of blood, but they intermarried with them and formed a new but homogeneous population and society. By virtue of its inherent superiority the Hindu culture no doubt formed the dominant element in this fusion, but it was also influenced considerably by the impact of new ideas. The Hindu social institutions were adapted to the needs and habits of the people, and both religion and literature were transformed to a certain extent by the influence of the indigenous elements. The gradual effects of such fusion can be clearly studied in the domains of palaeography and art. The earliest inscriptions of the Hindu settlers in Malayasia are written in alphabets which can be hardly distinguished from Indian, so much so that it would not have been a matter of surprise at all if these records were discovered in some parts of India itself. But slowly local characteristics make their influence felt. The gradual changes in the development of the alphabets takes them farther and farther away from the Indian prototype, and ultimately an entirely distinct type of alphabet is evolved. Similarly the early products of art are distinctly Indian in conception, technique and execution, and almost every phase of the mediaeval art of India is represented in Malayasia. From about the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. distinctive indigenous characteristics make their appearance. From the thirteenth century A.D. the transition becomes more rapid till the art of Malayasia becomes purely indigenous and entirely distinct in course of the next two or three centuries.

These phenomena, instances of which can be easily multiplied, can be readily explained. The Indians who settled in Malayasia readily merged themselves in the vast elements of native population and the result was a fusion of culture. But there was the great risk that even the inherent superiority of the Hindu culture might not counterbalance the sheer weight of numbers on the other side. This risk was minimized by the constant stream of colonization which flowed from the motherland bringing fresh vigour and life. But the moment this perennial spring ceased to flow the fountains fed by them also dried up. Thus the degree and extent of colonial enterprise in India set the pace of Indianization of the colonial culture and civilization. And when this spirit of colonization died away in India, the Indian element was rapidly submerged beneath the rising tide of the local and national spirit of the land to which the fusion between a primitive people and a virile race had given birth. The Indian colonists would perhaps have been wiser in worldly sense, if they followed the examples of some modern colonists who practically extirpated the native population or held quite aloof from them by reducing them to abject wholesale slavery. This exclusiveness might have enabled the colonists to lord it over the people of the soil who would never be civilized enough to aspire after anything great and remain content with their lot as hewers of wood and drawers of water. But the Indian tradition was altogether different. They put more value on cultural conquest and no price was reckoned too high so long as this great mission was fulfilled. They aimed at the uplift of the people and not selfish gain by means of their exploitation; and instead of wielding the rod of masters they extended the hand of fellowship to the people among whom they found themselves.

When I was in Java a Dutch gentleman once casually remarked to me that they occupied the same position to-day as once my ancestors did. I remarked with good humour, so as not to wound his feelings, that it was perfectly true, with only a slight difference, *viz.*, that when they would leave Java nothing but sugar and rubber plantations would keep alive for about a century the story of their mastery. But the Borobudur and hundreds of other monuments will tell the tale of my forefathers for another thousand years.

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ASIA
RUSSIA
CHINA
JAPAN
GREECE
ARMENIA
SYRIA
IRAQ
PERSIA
EGYPT
ARABIA
AFGHAN-ISTAN
BACTRA
KUCHA
KHOTAN
TIBET
NEPAL
INDIA
BURMA
INDO CHINA
ANNAM
SIAM
COMBODIA
CEYLON
MALAY
SUMATRA
BORNEO
BALI
JAVA
NEW GUINEA

M.A. Ali

LECTURE III.

INDIAN COLONIZATION IN THE FAR EAST

CULTURAL ASPECT.

In the last lecture I have tried to give a rough idea of the various colonial kingdoms in Malayasia that were ruled over by the Hindu kings. I have used the word Hindu in its original sense of an Indian and not as a member of the Hindu religious community. For there were also Buddhist kings among these rulers.

It is now necessary to examine a little more closely the two assumptions I have made, *viz.*, that there were Indian colonies in these kingdoms and that the rulers were Indian in origin. For it has been contended that the rulers of these regions were not Indians, but indigenous princes who had adopted Hindu culture and religion, along with their subjects. In other words the Indian influence in these regions was due to the activity of a few missionaries rather than a large settlement of Indian people.

As the origin and early history of these colonial kingdoms are mostly unknown to us it is not possible to make any positive statement in this respect, but the facts that are so far known to us would, when properly reviewed, perhaps enable us to form a correct judgment.

In the first place we have fortunately the definite statement of the Chinese that the Indians permanently settled in large numbers in some of these regions. For as already stated, in the city of Tuen-

suin, the capital of a vassal state of Fu-nan, there were five hundred Indian families of mercantile caste, two hundred Buddhists and more than a thousand Brahmans of India. We are further told that these people settled in the country and married the daughters of the people. The Chinese also have preserved the local tradition of Fu-nan that some of its kings came directly from India.

The direct testimony of the Chinese writers is fully supported by the earliest epigraphic evidence that has come down to us.

About twenty inscriptions earlier than the fifth century A.D. and written in Sanskrit language and purely Indian alphabet have been discovered in these regions. A few of these inscriptions are of special interest from the point of view of our present discussion.

An inscription in Western Java refers to a king called Pūrṇavarman and describes his grandfather as Rājarshi. Another ancestor of Pūrṇavarman, perhaps his father, is referred to as Rājādhirāja, and is said to have dug the Candrabhāgā, a canal which reached the ocean. Pūrṇavarman himself dug a similar canal, called the Gomatī river, 6,122 *dhanus* in length and paid a *dakshiṇā* (fee) of a thousand cows to the Brāhmans. We possess also three other inscriptions of this Pūrṇavarman, which among others refer to Vishṇu's feet, and the elephant Airāvata.

Four inscriptions, discovered in Borneo, refer to a king Mūlavarman, and are engraved on sacrificial pillars of stone set up by the Brāhmans for this king, when he performed the *yajña* (sacrifice) called Bahu-Suvarṇakam (much-gold), and made a gift of 20,000 cows to the Brāhmans in the holy field of Vaprakeś-

vara. As regards the ancestry of king Mūlavarman we are told, in one of these inscriptions, that he was the eldest of the three sons of Aśvavarman who like Aṁśumān or the Sun was the originator of a family. Another mutilated inscription began by saying that as from king Sagara is born Bhagīratha so Mūlavarman was born, etc.

In Champā (modern Annam) we have got an inscription, of second or third century A.D. which refers to the royal family of Śrī-Māra, and several inscriptions of fourth or fifth century A.D. which mention Dharma-Mahārāja Bhadravarman and his worship of Śiva or Mahādeva.

The inscriptions of Malay Peninsula are too fragmentary to yield complete sense, but some of them contain well-known Buddhist formula.

These early records, though short and few in number, show how thoroughly the Hindu civilization had permeated these peoples. An intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit language and Indian alphabet is evinced by the inscriptions themselves. Their contents unerringly indicate great familiarity with Hindu religion, mythology, and rituals. Reference to Indian months and *tithis*, and to *dhanus* as standards of measurement, show clearly that in these respects the Indian systems had superseded the older ones. The adoption of geographical names such as Candrabhāgā, Gomati, Vaprakeśvara, not only indicate a familiarity with Indian geography but clearly testify to the existence of an Indian element in the settled population. Lastly the kings all bear purely Indian names such as Purṇavarman, Mūlavarman Bhadravarman, Śri'-Māra, etc. As a matter of fact there is absolutely nothing in all these records that

is not Indian. Now it is difficult to maintain that all these changes could be brought about by the efforts of a few missionary bands among a primitive people hardly emerging out of barbarism. They can only be explained by the theory that a large number of Indians had actually settled in those regions and exercised political domination over them. Of course, these Indians did not keep aloof from the native elements and form an isolated group. They freely intermarried with them and thus there was gradually a fusion of races. But constant streams of fresh Indian colonists must have kept up the Indian character of the culture and civilization.

This view, supported by the Chinese evidence and epigraphic records, is also in keeping with the local traditions current all over this region, about people coming from India and conquering the different kingdoms from the primitive people. Reference has already been made to these traditions in respect of Fu-nan. An inscription of Champā dated A.D. 657 refers to the origin of the Hindu kingdom of Kamboja in the following words :—

"It was there that Kauṇḍinya, the foremost among Brāhmans, planted the spear which he had obtained from Droṇa's son Aśvathāmā, the best of Brāhmans."

The later Cambodian annals also refer to a prince of Indraprastha as having settled in Cambodia and made himself master of it by defeating the native king. According to another legend, referred to in later inscriptions, the kings of Cambodia descended from Maharshi Kambu Svāyambhuva, belonging to the solar race.

Several traditions are current in Java about the early settlement of the Indians in that island. Many of these legends associate the original colonists and their leader Aji Saka with the heroes of the Mahābhārata ruling at Astina, *i.e.*, Hastinapura. A modified version of these legends first takes the descendants of these princes to Gujrat whence a further wave of emigration to Java took place at a later date. Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonization of Java to the people of Kalinga. In one of them we read that "twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling."

It is not necessary to refer to many other similar stories. Although they cannot be regarded as historical, it is impossible to ignore altogether their general view-point regarding the colonization of their country by the Indians. It is interesting to note that even now there are groups of people in Malay Peninsula who claim to be descendants of Brahman colonists who settled there many centuries ago.

It may be mentioned in this connection that Indian literature also contains references to various localities in the Far East and the voyage of Indians, specially merchants and princes, to these far-off islands. The fact that no detailed and accurate account of these distant colonies has been found in Indian records is to be explained by the fact that in most cases the conquest was not deliberately planned by any Indian king but merely the works of bands of adventurers who were attracted to these regions in large number by the reports of wealth and power that could be easily attained there, and seldom returned to their motherlands.

On the whole, therefore, the only legitimate inference that we can draw from extant evidence is the

permanent settlement of a large number of Indians in those far off lands, and the exercise of political authority by them over the indigenous element. This brought in its train the cultural domination of India over the primitive peoples who submitted to the new rulers. We have got a few glimpses of the condition of the indigenous people before they came into contact with the Indians. The Chinese say that the people of Fu-nan, both men and women went naked, and the Indian rulers taught them to wear clothes. Similar description occurs in respect of other regions. People in some parts might have been a little more civilized, but there is no ground for the belief that they had passed beyond the very primitive stage of civilization. The Indians gradually introduced among them the elements of civilized life and the inscriptions mentioned above and other evidences leave no doubt that Indian language and letters, and the essential features of India's religious and social life were already firmly established from Malay Peninsula to Borneo by the fourth or fifth century A.D.

During the next thousand years the process of Indianization made rapid progress and we notice in every sphere of life the deep impress of Indian culture and civilization. It is difficult to form an exact estimate of the nature and extent of this cultural conquest of India at this distance of time, but a study of the inscriptions, literature and monuments which are still preserved in different parts of Indo-China and Malayasia would convey a fair idea of the thoroughness with which Indian thoughts, beliefs, ideals and habits of life permeated every phase of life of the common people in those far-off lands. It is not possible here to enter into a detailed discussion of this subject and I shall confine myself to a few general

observations on some of the important topics such as religion, language, literature, art and architecture.

The chief sources of our information on these points are first, the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Annam and Cambodia, secondly the extensive literature still preserved in manuscripts in Java, and thirdly the archaeological monuments, specially sanctuaries and images, found in pretty large number in all these countries and to a less extent in Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo and other islands. The following general conclusions are based on a study of all these materials.

Religion. The dominant religion was the Pauranik form of Hinduism, consisting in the worship of the three principal deities, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, and a number of minor gods and demi-gods associated with them. Of these Śaivism occupied the most important position and Vaishṇavism came next. The worship of Brahmā was current, but not very popular, as in India. Hundreds of temples were erected in honour of these gods, and literally thousands of images of gods still lie scattered over the whole area. Śiva is represented both as a human being as well as in the *liṅga* form, and other Śaiva gods like Durgā in various forms, Ganeśa, Kārtikeya and Nandin are represented by numerous images in stone and bronze.

The images of the different *avatārs* of Vishṇu, the goddess Lakshmī and even Garuḍa are also found in hundreds. Brahmā's images are fewer in number but his four faces crown the numerous towers of the magnificent temple of Bayon. There are also images of the goddess Sarasvatī.

The Sūrya or Sun god occupied a prominent position, and he was often identified with Śiva. We get also the images of all the eight Dikpālas or guardian deities like Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Kubera, etc. Numerous other gods and goddesses are also represented, and the truth of the following observation made by Crawford about a century ago in respect of Java has been established by recent researches. "Genuine Hindu images," said he, "in brass (bronze) and stone exist throughout Java in such variety, that I imagine there is hardly a personage of the Hindu mythology, of whom it is usual to make representations, that there is not a statue of."

The old religious texts found in Java and the actual form of worship now in vogue in the island of Bali leave no doubt that the essential rituals and ceremonies, popular mythology and cults, and the important philosophical and theological concepts of Hinduism were fully known to these people. Even today the Padaṇḍas or priests of Bali perform the ceremonies and recite the mantras which are familiar to every orthodox Hindu all over India.

Buddhism was also prevalent though to a far less extent. The Hīnayāna form was popular towards the close of the seventh century A.D., but was practically ousted by the Mahāyāna form in the next century. Later the Tantrik form came into prominence as in Eastern India. Here again we find the entire Buddhist pantheon represented by their images, and important Mahāyāna texts expounding the essential features of the religion both in Sanskrit and Javanese languages.

Malayasia became an important centre of Buddhist

culture and learned Buddhist teachers like Atīśa Dīpaṅkara came from India to study the religious texts from the High Priest of Suvarṇadvīpa who was acknowledged as the highest authority in the Buddhist world. Although sectarianism was an important factor, there was always a conscious effort to establish an underlying unity between the different religious doctrines and religious sects. Sometimes Śiva, Vishṇu and Buddha were all regarded as identical. The sublime height to which this spirit of syncretism attained is best illustrated by the following lines occurring in an Indo-Javanese text.

"As a man puts on clothes of different colours, but still remains one and the same, so is He, the Creator, one and the same although He appears in different garbs to different men or different sects. Again, if there are a thousand pitchers full of water, men would see thousand suns reflected in them; but if they would only look up, they would see only one sun whose images they are. So only one God pervades all creatures though we mistake Him for many."

Language and Literature.

The most important evidence for the prevalence of Sanskrit language and literature is furnished by inscriptions. Only a few Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Malay Peninsula, Java, Borneo and other islands, but Cambodia and Annam have yielded hundreds of them. More than seventy Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Annam, and about three hundred in Cambodia. Many of these inscriptions are fairly long and there are not a few which contain more than hundred verses, some even go up to 300 verses. The authors of these compositions show

high proficiency in Sanskrit and an intimate knowledge of classical works in Indian Sanskrit literature. References to famous Indian poets, writers, and scholars also occur in these inscriptions. A study of these hardly leaves any doubt that the scholars in these colonies were in constant touch with their motherland. We have also several references to learned Brāhmans being brought from India to these colonies, and people going to India to study various subjects under great scholars. In one such case we learn that a Brahmana scholar from Kambuja who became the royal priest learnt the scriptures from Bhagavan Śaṅkarācārya. Indeed the general composition of these inscriptions is such that one would find it difficult to distinguish them from their Indian prototype.

As regards literature, we have a rich store of materials in Java. The study of Indian Sanskrit literature led to the growth of an Indo-Javanese literature, which forms one of the most characteristic features of Indian colonization in that island. This literature, so far as it grew before the end of Hindu supremacy, is marked by several important characteristics. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre, its subject-matter is derived mainly from Indian literature, and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses. The most important work in this literature is the prose translation of the great epic Mahābhārata which closely follows the original epic but is more condensed. The next important work is the Rāmāyaṇa which is not a translation of the great epic though its subject-matter agrees quite well with the Sanskrit original with some variations. The most important of these variations is the omission of all reference to the

banishment and death of Sītā. But that this episode of Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa was known in Java is proved by the representation of this story in the sculptured panels of Lara Jonggrang temple.

Several other famous works of Indo-Javanese literature deal with well-known Indian themes such as Arjuna's fight with Nivāta Kavaca, abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa, the death of Indumatī caused by a garland of flowers, the great war between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, burning of Kāma, the god of Love by Śiva, defeat of Indra and other gods by Narakāsura, defeat of Rāvaṇa by Kārtavīrya, churning of the ocean by the gods, conquests of Vṛitra and Nahusha, the story of Kālayavana, fight between Sunda and Upasunda over Tilottamā, the love-episode of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, etc. There are various other works dealing with Puranic mythology and cosmology, moral lessons and historical incidents in addition to texts dealing with grammar, lexicon, metre, medicine, and erotics, all based on Indian models. In short we find here a replica of a wide range of Indian literature in foreign language of which it would be difficult to find a parallel example except in the influence of classical literature on that of modern Europe.

We may next refer to artistic activities in Indian colonies. Fortunately we have a large number of monuments in Java, Cambodia and Annam, belonging to the Hindu period, which are in a fair state of preservation. A study of these leaves no doubt that like language and literature, the sculpture and architecture of these colonies were based on Indian models and originally inspired by ideals and technique of Indian art, though in course of time it was

developed on independent lines without losing the essential Indian characteristics. The classical art of the Gupta period was the source from which the art traditions were derived, and at a later period, mediaeval sculptures of India, both of north and south, also exercised their influence. The origin of the aesthetic conception of the sculptures and their forms as well as of the general plan of the temples may be traced to the images and temples of the Gupta period. But the colonists sometimes surpassed even their mother country in boldness of conception, massive grandeur, and execution of details. For example, it would be difficult to name any sanctuary in India which can even make a remote approach to Angkor Vat or Borobudur. These display a command of material resources, mastery of technique, and a high aesthetic conception which place the art of colonial India on a level with that of the most civilized country in the world, ancient or modern. In no other sphere did the genius of the Indian colonists shine more brilliantly and leave a more permanent memorial to the high degree of civilization they attained in their land of adoption. Here fortunately we have also a sure means of estimating the influence of Indian elements on the progress and development of civilization in the colonies. For with the decay of Hindu influence there was a corresponding decay in the art and architecture, and the final collapse of the Hindu power proved a death blow to all artistic activities. I may quote a few lines from observations of a distinguished foreign art critic on this point. Referring to the Muslim conquest of Java Fergusson remarks: "Then occurred what was perhaps the least expected event in all this strange eventful history. It is as if the masons had thrown away their tools and the chisels had dropped from

the hands of the carvers. From that time forward no building was erected in Java, and no image carved that is worth even a passing notice."

Fergusson pays a high tribute to the Indian colonists in this connection. "For nearly nine centuries," says he, "foreign colonists had persevered in adorning the island with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class; but at the end of that time, as happened so often in India, their blood had become *diluted*, their race impure, their energy effete and as if at the touch of a magician's wand they disappear. The inartistic native races resumed their sway, and art vanished from the land, never probably again to reappear."

Such a statement by an Indian writer might have been regarded as inspired by false patriotism, but coming as it does from an European scholar who cannot be accused of any partiality for Indians, it would, I hope, carry due weight. And what Fergusson has said about art applies more or less to other aspects of civilization. It also goes a great way towards demolishing the hypothesis that the Indian civilization in the Far East was not to be attributed to Indian colonies settled there but merely to the adoption of Hindu culture by the indigenous people.

Printed by L. Moti Ram, Manager, Mufid-i-'Am Press, Chatterji Road Lahore and published by L. Mehr Chand, M. Sc., for the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Managing Committee, Lahore.